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This use of the language as a symbol of the Indian heritage has helped to give the movement a racial rather than a nationalistic character.

After the revolution of 1910–23 few of *los correctos* returned to Tepoztlán. Most of those who did go back went back to employ the practical and commercial experience they had acquired in the city in order to earn a living in Tepoztlán. They are the artisans and merchants there today. Of the six men who were most instrumental in organizing the colony of Tepoztecan *émigrés*—the group of intelligentsia—only one returned. Except two teachers, he was the only real intellectual living in Tepoztlán at the time of these observations. The substance of his life-history gives in a specific case the experience passed through by that type of individual who springs from the folk, is no longer entirely at home in it and yet can never quite leave it, and who suffers the conflict and disorganization of his position, with one foot in one world and the other foot in another.[1]

R. G. was born in Tepoztlán about forty-six years ago. He is apparently a pure-blooded Indian. His father was poor, but, like the other Tepoztecans, had his *milpa*. He was a man of some education, and, after the federal government had taken charge of the pre-Columbian ruins above the town, he was made "keeper of the monuments" at three *pesos* a day. The son, R., lived in Tepoztlán until he was nineteen years old. Up to that time his only schooling was that of the little local public school. In his own words, he "lived like an animal," running about and having a good time with the other boys but with no ideas or aims direct-

[1] Dr. Robert E. Park has called this type the "marginal man" (art., "Migration and the Marginal Man").

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ed toward any other interests than those offered by the ordinary life of the town. At the age of nineteen he was sent by his father to school in Cuernavaca. A great many of *los correctos* have studied in Cuernavaca. Because of the tourists and its position on the railroad and the fact that it is the seat of the state government, Cuernavaca is far more sophisticated than Tepoztlán. R. G. studied in the secondary school there. Evidently his interest in study was aroused, for he then went on to a normal school in Mexico City.

In Mexico City one of the ruling passions of his life—his interest in the Nahuatl language—had its origin through a friendship he picked up with a North American priest and amateur archaeologist. To R. G., Nahuatl had been with Spanish equally the language of intimate home life. But through the archaeologist he received a Nahuatl grammar and from him he first made acquaintance with the literature describing the past glories of his Aztec forbears. The Nahuatl language became for him a symbol of gradually developing race consciousness. He entered into discussions with the archaeologist on the ancient forms of the language and studied it with the idea of bringing back to use the sacred pure original forms.

He had made only brief stays in Tepoztlán when the revolution broke out, and was of course in Mexico City all during that period. He took an active share in organizing the "Colonia Tepozteco," and entered enthusiastically into the plans for the restoration and reform of Tepoztlán. All during this time he was employed at various clerical occupations. During the early years of the revolution he met and married a *mestiza* woman, part Tarascan Indian, part Spanish. Although he is apparently proud of his pure Indian blood, he married a woman lighter skinned and closer to the Spanish tradition than himself. At about the same time he became acquainted with the authorities in charge of anthropological work for the government, and was employed in a minor capacity in connection with the work of that department. When he was asked to take part in an ancient Aztec pageant which the department had arranged as a part of the deliberate revival of the ancient cultural traditions of the folk, R. G. refused indignantly to make himself ridiculous by dressing up in

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feathers. He offered instead to write and deliver an oration in Nahuatl pointing out the beauties of the Nahuatl language.

By the time the revolution was over R. G. had four children. Their situation in Mexico City was fairly comfortable. But he was only one of a mass of low-paid white-collar employees with little opportunity to gain recognition now that the Tepoztecan colony was broken up, and he had felt more intensely than most the desires to, as he put it, "lift up my homeland out of the sink into which it has fallen." Just then his father, who was living in Tepoztlán as "keeper of the monuments," died, and R. G. asked for and secured the post for himself. He returned to Tepoztlán, to the job, the house, and the *milpa* of his father. In spite of the misgivings of his wife, who is a city person and had moreover her own family in Mexico City, he transported himself and family, a few pieces of furniture, and the Nahuatl grammar to the mud-floored, windowless *adobe* house that had been his birthplace. He launched at once into his efforts at civic reform, promoting new roads, new street lights, and a school for the instruction of Nahuatl. He met with the apathy and often open amusement of his townspeople. The practical reforms ended with the installation of a few gasoline lamps. The school failed because, he says, "it was opposed by the priest." In Mexico City R. G. had become an atheist and anticlerical. He was equally out of sympathy with the small radical political group, who are *tontos*.

By the end of his fifth year in Tepoztlán he was thoroughly uncomfortable in both body and soul. His wife, suffering from the hardships of the primitive mode of life, was an invalid, dragging herself out of bed in order to do the necessary work about the house. She was extremely isolated, for she had not been able to adjust or interest herself in the life of the town. Her only desire was to get back to Mexico City. Her husband, a more sanguine person, was at times hopeful and passionately enthusiastic, at times profoundly disillusioned. To himself he is a figure in Tepoztlán, but one who goes unrecognized; and toward *los tontos* he maintains an attitude which some of them feel to be patronizing and critical, while he moves among them making elaborate jokes in Nahuatl. He is a lively, agreeable person but sensitive and proud. He is disillusioned, yet he continues to hope for the

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Tepoztecan millennium. At bottom his attitudes are those of other Tepoztecans, but all is overlaid and colored by self-consciousness, and by a consciousness of the world outside not shared by his neighbors. During the sickness of one of his children he put equal weight on folk and city medicine. He laughs at *los aires*, but like his neighbors he thinks it unsafe to sleep out of doors; for him, however, it is because "germs drop from trees."

In 1926 the death of two of his children and a minor revolutionary disturbance in Morelos provided the occasion for his departure for Mexico City. In so doing he abandoned his dreams and forsook his status. But a partial transfer of desires has taken place; he talks now of learning English and coming to the United States. There one can make money, and there scientists are interested in his language.

R. G. can be understood partly in terms of his particular temperament, but partly in the light of that development of racial and national consciousness that has so marked the last two decades in Mexico. As he sees Tepoztlán partly through the eyes of a man of the wider city-world, so are the folk of Mexico coming to see themselves. His dreams and despairs, his crudities and his sensitiveness, are those of his country.

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[For sample Rorschach protocols, see category 116, pages 463-490.]

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of Cortés in Cuernavaca and on nearby haciendas. This is suggested by the local physical type as well as by local lore. There is a tradition in the village that Negro slaves from Cuernavaca worked as day laborers in the construction of the church. It is said that a Negro lies buried in each of the pillars of the church and that is the reason why the church is so strong.[28]

The village of Tepoztlán well illustrates the Mexican pattern of the domination of the center over the periphery. Since the sixteenth century, Tepoztlán, as the principal village, has dominated the surrounding villages politically, economically, and socially. Tepoztecans today feel superior to the people of the outlying villages, and, by and large, have superior educational facilities, better means of communication, and a higher standard of living. Going from Tepoztlán, the center, to the smaller surrounding villages of the municipio, we find a greater persistence of older customs, less literacy, and more people who speak only Náhuatl.

Tepoztecans, at various times in the history of the village, have achieved positions of prominence in many fields and have had personal contacts with men in the highest political circles of the state of Morelos and the nation. Many young men have left Tepoztlán, especially in the middle of the last century, to become doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, and priests. Tepoztlán boasts of having produced, within the last fifty years, two governors of the state of Morelos, three justices to the state court, a state senator, and more than half a dozen deputies to the state legislature. Many of these men have kept in touch with their relatives in the village and have been a constant stimulus for culture change.

One of the early Tepoztecans to become a distinguished figure and an important influence in the village was Professor Mariano Jacobo Rojas, who was born in Tepoztlán in 1842. This schoolteacher became a champion of bilingual education

[28] I am indebted to Dr. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán for calling to my attention a number of seventeenth-century documents, which indicate the presence of Negroes and mulattoes in Tepoztlán. These documents also show that the Inquisition prosecuted the Negroes for taking *peyote* and for their practices of magic and divination. The following declaration of the Negress Louisa, made available to me by Aguirre Beltrán, is typical: "Asked if she knew or presumed the reason for her being called before the board of Inquisition she said that she presumed that it was to learn what she knew about magic performed by a Negro called Domingo Angola who had fled from the jurisdiction of Zacatecas, and that she, having fled from her master, went to the village of Temimilcingo in the jurisdiction of Cuauhnahuac and there ran across him and was in his company for three months since last July; and in this time she saw many times this Negro Domingo talk to some little sticks or dolls dressed as men and others as women, and the sticks talked to him in the presence of everyone; and we heard that they were speaking in Spanish and in the Congo language and they did no less than dance the dances of both nations and sang songs of both nations, clearly and distinctly, so that all of us heard them; and the dolls asked for food; and food was carried to where they were, and after a little while they said; we have eaten, now you eat; and when it was time to steal they said, go it is time [propitious] to steal now, and when it was not time, and they were asked, they would say, now is not time. This darkie Moreno also had two snakes, one of which he took with him when he was going to steal, and the other was left in the house to guard the clothing and the Negro women. And once when I wanted to flee, the snake grabbed out for my foot and bit me as you can see by the mark it has left (which mark she showed us near the heel bone); and this witness continued to say that the other snake which he took along when he went to steal was of the same size and color as the one at home, about half a *vara* long and of two colors, yellow and black, and she heard say that the snake silenced them (the victims of the robbery?)."
From Archivo General de la Nación, Section on Inquisición, 486.254 (Tepoztlán, 1621). (Courtesy of Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán.)

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and had an interview with Emperor Maximilian at Acapantzingo to impress upon him the need for such education in Mexico. In 1878 Rojas was appointed secretary of the Department of Public Education of the state of Morelos by Francisco Leyva, the first constitutional governor of the state. Later Rojas returned to the village and published a newspaper in Náhuatl called "Xocoyotzin" (*El Menor*), and also a paper in Náhuatl and Spanish called *El Grano de Arena*. In the eighties he organized a chapter of the Lancaster Society, an educational society which had been making inroads in Mexico at the time. Rojas also had many personal contacts with President Porfirio Díaz, and in 1908 was appointed professor of Náhuatl at the National Museum of Archaeology.

Shortly before the Revolution, a small Museum of Antiquities was founded in Tepoztlán, a public library was opened, and night classes for adult education were held. This cultural florescence, though short-lived and limited to a small group of Tepoztecan intellectuals, most of whom came from well-to-do *cacique* families, earned for Tepoztlán the reputation of being the Athens of Morelos. This group of intellectuals had considerable influence despite their small number, and were instrumental in sending many young Tepoztecans to schools outside and in setting a precedent for higher education which has inspired Tepoztecans to this day.

A landmark in the history of the development of Tepoztlán was the building of the railroad in 1897 through the upper part of the municipio, with a station at El Parque—which is about an hour's climb from the village of Tepoztlán. The building of the railroad was opposed by most Tepoztecans, and set off a sharp struggle between the local *caciques* and the population at large who accused the former of selling out the communal resources to the gringos. Despite this opposition, Tepoztecans participated in the benefits which came with the building of the railroad. Many of them worked as day laborers and received the then phenomenal wage of $1.50 a day, or well over three times the prevailing wages at haciendas. In addition there were hundreds of laborers from other villages, many of whom came down to Tepoztlán to buy supplies.

Trade flourished, and it is said that there were more stores and artisans in the village at that time than in the years between 1920 and 1930. This source of income, though temporary and favoring primarily the merchants, was one of the factors which contributed to the cultural florescence which was going on during this time. Tepoztecans came into contact with laborers from all over Mexico and with Americans. The first wire fencing and steel plows came into the village with the railroad, and the advent of freight trains stimulated the charcoal-making industry.

Tepoztlán is typical of another major current in Mexican history, the relationship and the struggles between the so-called free Indian villages and the haciendas. Because of the marginal location of Tepoztlán to the hacienda area, and because most of its lands were unsuitable for sugar and rice plantations, Tepoztlán managed to escape the aggrandizement of the haciendas, except for a portion of its southern lands which were lost to the Hacienda of Oacalco. But while Tepoztlán was able to retain most of its communal lands since the Conquest, it was close enough to the haciendas to serve as a convenient source of labor supply, and its economy was therefore intimately tied up with that of the hacienda system.

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Children tend to be preoccupied with food. Food was a recurrent theme in all the psychological tests, and boys particularly seem to think and talk about food a good deal. In the written themes, boys and girls invariably mentioned that they liked their parents because they provided them with food and other necessities, that they liked certain relatives because they gave them good things to eat, and that they liked fiestas because then they could eat *mole*. Many said that the worst thing that had ever happened to them was when their mothers did not have money to make *mole* or some other favorite dish. Boys wrote that they wanted to marry someone who was a good cook, and the thing they liked best about their mothers was that they cooked well. Thematic apperception stories also contained a good deal about food.

Boys, more than girls, tend to be fussy about food, although they like the food that makes up the family daily fare and do not refuse to eat it. They are sensitive about the order in which they are served, the size of their portion, the way in which the food is cooked, and the manner in which it is given to them. Eldest sons or favorite sons easily become angry and sometimes throw down their food, plate and all, or refuse to eat. In this they follow the pattern of their fathers who do the same thing when they are angry.

Girls may cry quietly or throw their food to the animals if they are not pleased with what they are given, but most often they suppress their feelings. The tendency of mothers to serve larger portions and choicer food to their favorite child is a source of quarrels and resentment. Many mothers give more food to the younger children because "the others are already big and the little ones need it more." On the other hand, grown sons who work are given more food than children still in school. Some children complain that their mothers do not cook well, and we know of a few cases in which the mother neglects to prepare meals from time to time. Food is also withheld as a punishment. Taking food without permission is called stealing and is punished. Despite this, children frequently steal food, and some mothers say that they cannot leave even a bit of sugar without it disappearing. Children also now commonly beg for food or for centavos to buy candy or fruit.

Tepoztecans tend to be secretive about food. Women do not discuss with each other what their families are going to eat that day nor what they bought at the market. Market baskets are generally kept carefully covered from prying eyes. There is also some fear of food sorcery, and, except for fiesta meals, Tepoztecans prefer to eat within the safety of their own homes. One family, in which the young son attends school daily in Cuernavaca, complained that he must eat cold, stiff tortillas and cold beans for lunch. When asked why he doesn't eat at one of the many inexpensive restaurants the mother answered that it would be dangerous because someone might "put something in his food." Persons who have known enemies will generally not accept food from anyone outside their own household.

Tepoztecans, like most other Mexicans, believe that food can be classified into two types, hot and cold (which has no relationship to temperature), and that under certain conditions only one or the other type should be eaten. In general, cold foods

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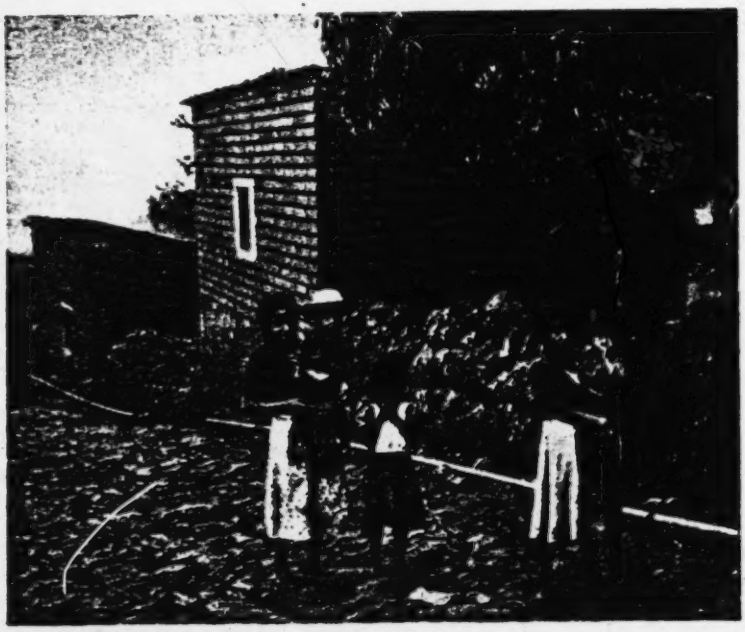

Fig. 58. Child nurses.

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physical skill or individual competition (except for marbles and tops), and loosely organized play groups. These games also reflect, to a striking degree, the customs, religion, and temperament of the people. Most of the older games involve running and tagging, singing, responding, and imitating adult life. Choosing between alternatives and receiving punishment in the form of work tasks are also common features.

In contrast, the games taught at school are those in which teamwork, competition, scoring, definite goals, loyalty, leadership, sportsmanship, and physical exertion have an important place. This is especially true of games organized for boys and older girls. These games are popular among the young people and are played with enthusiasm.[1]

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The range of activities of boys and girls varies widely insofar as work, school, and play are concerned, and can best be appreciated by describing some cases. The following brief accounts of three boys and three girls represent both the extreme and the middle-of-the-road type. The extreme of more work than play, and almost no schooling, is perhaps the most widespread situation in Tepoztlán.

[1] See Appendix F, p. 491, for list of games most commonly played in school and at home by Tepoztecan children.

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ELEUTERIA V.: Eleuteria is sixteen years old and the oldest child in the family. Her mother is a widow who supports her children by teaching school. Eleuteria had to take care of five younger brothers and sisters from the time she was seven and one-half years of age. She attended school for one and one-half years until she was nine. During this time she helped her mother cook, sweep, carry water, and make tortillas. Before going to school in the morning she cleaned the house and on her return she took care of her sisters and brothers. She liked school but she was always tired, and when her mother suggested that she stay home all the time Eleuteria was glad to. She then did all the work of the house. She bathed and dressed the children, washed and ironed their clothing, and did all the cooking. At that time she was still young enough to be afraid to lift the hot *comal* off the fire. She also ground the corn and coffee. Eleuteria envied the girls in the neighborhood who could play, and sometimes she tied her youngest brother to her back with her *rebozo* in order to join their games. She did this in the greatest secrecy because if her mother had known, she would have been severely punished. Her mother often scolded or beat Eleuteria for not doing her work well or for letting anything happen to the smaller children. Eleuteria frequently scolded and hit her brothers and sisters to get them to obey her. When her younger sister was able to help at home, Eleuteria went to work at a corn mill for sixty centavos a day. She used this money to buy herself clothing and sometimes little toys or goodies for her younger brothers and sisters. She always cleaned the house before going to work in the morning and did the heavy washing and ironing at night.

FELICITA Z.: Felicita is fifteen years old. She lives with her mother, stepfather, three older brothers, and three younger half-brothers and sisters. Felicita was enrolled in school at the age of seven and attended irregularly until she was ten. Her mother kept her home at the slightest pretext, and Felicita learned very little. When she was ten, another child was born, and Felicita was withdrawn from school. Felicita cried when she was taken out of school, not because she liked to study but because she could no longer see her friends or play at school. She went about her work sullenly and took little interest in it. Everyone considered her lazy and bad tempered, and her younger brothers and sisters were afraid of her. Her mother complained that she had to shout and scold, or hit the girl, to get her to do her work. Once her mother threw a stone at Felicita and bruised her badly because she had played deaf when she was called. Felicita refused to go on errands for her grandmother or aunt who lived nearby unless they gave her five centavos in payment. When Felicita was ten she once expressed fear (to the investigator who knew her then) of becoming fifteen, because then she would have to do heavier work. Now at fifteen she still goes about her work unwillingly but is much less sullen and resentful. She takes more interest in her appearance and is happier because she has nicer clothes. Whenever her mother promises to buy something for her, she does her work with a will.

CARMEN G.: Carmen, age seventeen, is the youngest daughter in a well-to-do family. She lives with her parents and older brother. She has two older sisters, both of whom have had an advanced education and are now married. Carmen attended school from kindergarten to the sixth grade and was absent only when ill. She never did any work at home during this time because her older sisters helped her mother. Carmen had many friends and spent all her time playing with them, either at her home or theirs. At the age of twelve, Carmen was sent to Mexico City where she lived with her mother's sister and

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attended a secondary school. She studied dressmaking and learned to do fine work. After she had completed her course she began to earn a comparatively good salary and wanted to continue living in the city. But her parents did not think it proper for a single girl to live away from home and insisted that she return. Her two sisters had married, and her mother needed help. At sixteen, Carmen returned discontentedly because there was no market for her expensive work in the village. It soon became evident that Carmen was not going to be of much assistance at home. When she was asked to do any work in the kitchen she developed a backache or a headache and had to lie down. If she was sent to the plaza to buy anything, she returned with inferior articles for which she had paid too much. After a while one of the married sisters took over the family marketing, and Carmen now spends most of the day making dresses and blouses for herself or going for walks with some of her friends, all girls who have been educated outside of the village. She gives frequent parties and dances at home for her friends of both sexes and attends the public dances in the plaza. Her parents disapprove of her parties, but they permit her to have her own way. Most people in the village, except some of the younger ones, disapprove of her.

ALBINO R.: Albino is thirteen years old and is the youngest child. He lives with his parents and older brother. An older sister is married and lives away. His father works on a hacienda and comes home every eight days. His brother works as a laborer in Tepoztlán. The family is landless and poor. Neither Albino nor his brother and sister went to school for more than two years, and all are practically illiterate. His mother kept Albino and his sister at home to do errands. Albino, from the age of eight, had to take his brother's horse to and from the pasture. Albino was always at the beck and call of his mother, and if he wandered too far or played too much he received a sound beating. When he was ten the family acquired a burro, and the boy was withdrawn from school in order to guard the burro and the horse in the pasture. From age ten to thirteen, Albino did nothing but this work and ran errands for his mother. Since the family is landless, the boy never had an opportunity to learn to farm. When he is fifteen he will be hired out as a day laborer.

JUAN R.: Juan is fifteen and has lived with his widowed grandmother from the time he was weaned. His mother, stepfather, and married uncle live on the same *sitio*. Juan entered school at eight and attended irregularly until he was twelve years old. During this time he took his grandmother's cows to and from pasture and sometimes accompanied his uncle to the fields in order to learn to farm. He also carried water and helped his grandmother gather wood, though sometimes he was disobedient and refused to do anything. After school hours, he played in the street with his friends or joined a baseball or basketball game in the school yard. As he grew older he began to stand at street corners with older boys. He frequently stayed away from school to go swimming and did not come home until late. His teachers twice complained about his behavior in school. His grandmother was afraid "something bad would happen to him," and in order to make him more "serious" took him out of school and put him to work full time in the fields with his uncle. She attributed his behavior to the fact that he did not have a father to fear. Juan was sorry to leave his friends but was happy to go to work with his uncle and soon forgot about school. He worked hard and gave all his money to his grandmother. He occasionally went out with his friends in the evening but was usually tired

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and went to bed early. By the time he was fifteen, his grandmother had saved enough money for him to buy a burro. After that he became "very serious" and always brought her all the wood and water she needed and worked like a man in the fields. Juan is very contented and looks forward to the time he will receive the land which his grandmother has promised him as an inheritance.

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Higinio F.: Higinio is fifteen and lives with his parents and five younger brothers and sisters. His father is a former schoolteacher, merchant, and bus driver. At present his father is an official of one of the local bus companies. Higinio had been sickly as a child, and it was early decided that he was better suited to the life of a student than to that of a farmer. He was enrolled in kindergarten at the age of five and, except for one year which he lost because of illness, he attended regularly until he completed the sixth grade. During the time he went to school his father did not permit him to play in the street or to have friends. If he was found playing marbles with other boys, as he frequently was, or if he delayed too long in running an errand, he was severely scolded or spanked by his father. Higinio was required to take care of his youngest brother after school hours. Higinio has never gone to the fields and knows nothing of taking care of animals or farming. Nor has he ever gone to the hills to gather firewood, and only occasionally is he asked to carry water. Higinio attended religious classes at the church for many years. He reads a good deal at home, and his parents have encouraged this by buying him a book from time to time. When Higinio was thirteen, he entered a secondary school in Cuernavaca since he could ride on the bus every day without charge. His parents hope to be able to have him educated to be a lawyer.